

Message Text

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DRAFTED BY S/P:DAKORN/MPH
APPROVED BY MR. HABIB
NEA:ALATHERTON
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TO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 007586

NODIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: UK, XF

SUBJECT: US-UK CONSULTATION ON MIDDLE EAST ISSUES

REF: LONDON 00401

1. YOU MAY DRAW ON FOLLOWING TO BRIEF MINISTER OF STATE JUDD OR OTHER APPROPRIATE SENIOR UK OFFICIAL. YOU SHOULD STRESS THAT, IN THE SPIRIT OF THE US-UK DIALOGUE, WE ARE SPEAKING VERY FRANKLY AND THAT THIS MATERIAL IS VERY SENSITIVE AND MUST BE HELD CLOSELY.

2. OVERALL, THE BREAKTHROUGH IN EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI RELATIONS HAS BEEN A MAJOR STEP FORWARD AND THERE IS NOW A GREAT DEAL TO WORK WITH IN TRYING TO NEGOTIATE PEACE AGREEMENTS. HOWEVER, A NUMBER OF DIFFICULT ISSUES REMAIN

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IN NEGOTIATING A COMPREHENSIVE PEACE SO SUCCESS IN NEGOTIATIONS WILL STILL BE SOME TIME IN COMING.

3. THE PROBLEM AT THIS MOMENT IS THAT THE EGYPTIANS AND THE ISRAELIS BOTH SAY THEY HAVE GONE AS FAR AS THEY CAN LEGITIMATELY BE ASKED TO GO AND THAT IT IS NOW UP TO THE OTHER SIDE TO MAKE THE NEXT CONCESSION. THE EGYPTIANS

FEEL THAT THE ISRAELIS HAVE NOT MATCHED SADAT'S BOLD GESTURE IN GOING TO JERUSALEM. THE ISRAELIS BELIEVE THAT

THEY TOOK A BIG STEP FORWARD IN OFFERING BEGIN'S WEST BANK/GAZA PLAN AND THAT THE EGYPTIANS HAVE NOT FULLY RECOGNIZED THE EXTENT OF THE CONCESSIONS THEY OFFER. THE ISRAELIS SEEM TO THINK THAT SADAT IS LOOKING FOR A FIG LEAF TO MAKE A SEPARATE PEACE WITH ISRAEL. THEY APPEAR TO HAVE ADOPTED A NEGOTIATING STRATEGY OF NOT MAKING ANY MORE CONCESSIONS, IN THE BELIEF THAT SADAT WILL IN THE END SETTLE FOR LESS THAN ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL FROM THE WEST BANK AND GAZA AS LONG AS HE KNOWS HE CAN GET BACK ALL OF SINAI. SADAT, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS A STRONG INTEREST IN BUILDING SUPPORT FROM OTHER ARABS, AND HE CAN DO THIS ONLY IF HE CAN DEMONSTRATE THAT HE IS GETTING SOMETHING FROM ISRAEL FOR THE PALESTINIANS AND OTHER ARABS.

4. ON THE PURELY EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI PROBLEM OF SINAI, THE TWO PARTIES ARE NOT FAR APART, BUT A COUPLE OF DIFFICULT ISSUES AND SEVERAL TECHNICAL ONES REMAIN, SUCH AS ISRAEL'S DESIRE TO RETAIN USE OF TWO SINAI AIRFIELDS. THE ISRAELIS HAVE AGREED TO THE RESTORATION OF EGYPTIAN SOVEREIGNTY IN ALL OF SINAI. THE CAIRO DEFENSE MINISTERS' MEETINGS (WHICH OPEN JANUARY 11) WILL DEAL WITH THE STAGES OF ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL AND SECURITY ARRANGEMENTS THEREAFTER. THE MAIN PROBLEM IN SINAI IS ISRAELI SETTLEMENTS. WE EX-
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PECT THIS WILL BE AMONG THE SUBJECTS DISCUSSED IN JERUSALEM. COMPROMISE IS POSSIBLE, BUT THIS IS A VERY DIFFICULT POLITICAL ISSUE ON BOTH SIDES. PUBLIC DEBATE HAS ALREADY STARTED BETWEEN EGYPTIANS AND ISRAELIS AND THIS WILL FURTHER COMPLICATE THEIR REACHING AGREEMENT. WE HAVE PRIVATELY MADE CLEAR IN FORCEFUL TERMS TO ISRAEL OUR CONCERN ABOUT ITS LATEST SETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES IN SINAI AND THE WEST BANK.

5. THE MAIN PROBLEM IS THAT IN ORDER TO MAKE PEACE WITH ISRAEL SADAT NEEDS TO SHOW THAT HE HAS GOTTEN SOMETHING FOR ALL THE ARABS, ESPECIALLY THE PALESTINIANS. HE IS SEEKING A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES COMMITTING ISRAEL TO TOTAL WITHDRAWAL FROM OCCUPIED TERRITORIES AND SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE WEST BANK AND GAZA WHICH WOULD PERMIT HIM TO SAY THAT HE HAD SUCCEEDED IN ESTABLISHING A FRAMEWORK WITHIN WHICH EACH ARAB PARTY COULD NEGOTIATE.

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TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 007586

NODIS

FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 7586 ACTION LONDON JAN 11.

QUOTE: S E C R E T STATE 007586

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S E C R E T STATE 007586

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT STATE 007586 ACTION WHITE HOUSE JAN 12.

QUOTE S E C R E T STATE 007586

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FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

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9. WE DO NOT EXPECT THE JORDANIANS TO JOIN THE TALKS IMMEDIATELY, BUT HUSSEIN HAS INDICATED THAT HE WOULD BE READY TO JOIN ONCE THE BASIC ISRAELI COMMITMENT TO WITH-

DRAWAL FROM THE WEST BANK HAS BEEN MADE. THIS IS ESSENTIAL IF PROGRESS IS TO BE MADE IN NEGOTIATING ARRANGEMENTS THAT MIGHT LEAD TOWARD AN ENTITY LINKED WITH JORDAN WHICH WE CONSIDER NECESSARY IF THERE IS TO BE ANY CHANCE OF ULTIMATE ISRAELI AGREEMENT.

10. OF THE OTHER PRINCIPAL ACTORS, (A) THE SOVIETS CONTINUE UNHELPFULLY TO SUPPORT SYRIAN AND PLO OPPOSITION TO SADAT'S INITIATIVE BUT ARE BASICALLY IN A WAIT-AND-SEE POSTURE; (B) THE SYRIANS, WITH WHOM WE REMAIN IN TOUCH, ARE ON THE SIDELINES BUT HAVE NOT FORECLOSED THE OPTION OF JOINING NEGOTIATIONS IN A BROADENED CONTEXT PROVIDED IT IS NOT UNDER SADAT'S AUSPICES; AND (C) THE PLO IS IN DISARRAY AND NOT A FACTOR SO FAR AS THE PRESENT NEGOTIATIONS ARE CONCERNED, BUT EXTREMIST PLO ELEMENTS CLEARLY HAVE A CAPACITY TO INHIBIT MODERATE PALESTINIANS FROM JOINING THE NEGOTIATIONS AND, TOGETHER WITH SYRIA, CAN BE

EXPECTED TO SEEK TO MAKE LIFE DIFFICULT FOR HUSSEIN IF HE DOES SO. THE SOVIETS, SYRIANS AND PLO CLEARLY COUNT ON SADAT'S EITHER FAILING TO ACHIEVE A DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES FROM THE JERUSALEM TALKS OR AGREEING TO ONE THAT WILL NOT BE CONSIDERED ADEQUATE BY OTHER ARABS, IN PARTICULAR SAUDI ARABIA, AND PROCEEDING ON THAT BASIS TO PURSUE A BILATERAL EGYPTIAN-ISRAELI AGREEMENT. IN EITHER EVENT, THEY UNDOUBTEDLY RECKON THAT THIS WOULD SO WEAKEN SADAT IN THE ARAB WORLD AND, ULTIMATELY, AT HOME THAT THEIR POSITIONS WOULD BE STRENGTHENED IN THE AREA, AND VIS-A-VIS ISRAEL AND THE U.S.

11. IN BRIEF, A GREAT DEAL IS RIDING ON THE OUTCOME OF THE JERUSALEM TALKS. WE WILL WANT TO STAY IN CLOSE TOUCH WITH UK AS THEY PROGRESS. SECRETARY DOES NOT ANTICIPATE
SECRET

SECRET

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DRAMATIC RESULTS IN THE TWO OR THREE DAYS HE CAN BE IN JERUSALEM, BUT HOPES TO HELP GIVE AN IMPETUS AND DIRECTION TO THOSE NEGOTIATIONS THAT CAN BE SUSTAINED. U.S. WILL HAVE A PERMANENT DELEGATION AT THE JERUSALEM TALKS AFTER SECRETARY LEAVES TO CONTINUE OUR ACTIVE PARTICIPATION.

12. THE SECRETARY HAS INFORMED MINISTER OF STATE ROWLANDS ALONG SIMILAR LINES IN A MEETING TODAY. VANCE
UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

SECRET

NNN

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